

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 06335 01 OF 02 230716Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00
ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NASA-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01
OES-06 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 /119 W
----- 102624 /13

R 230419Z DEC 76
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1865
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOJYO
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
USMISSION NATO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 06335 01 OF 02 230716Z

ERDA GERMANTOWN MD 18-19

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 6335

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, UNGA, IAEA

SUBJECT: UNGA DISARMAMENT: ASSESSMENT OF 1976 UNGA DEBATE
ON NONPROLIFERATION

1. SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE ASSESSES 1976 UNGA'S CONSIDERATION OF NONPROLIFERATION ISSUES. IN LIGHT OF DIFFICULTIES ANTICIPATED AT OUTSET, ADOPTION BY IMPRESSIVE MARGINS OF TWO GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTIONS WAS A MORE FAVORABLE OUTCOME THAN EXPECTED. MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN SPECIFIC CONTENTS OF EITHER RESOLUTION WAS FACT THAT MOST NPT PARTIES, INCLUDING NUCLEAR POWERS, WERE ABLE TO REMAIN UNITED IN SUPPORT OF NONPROLIFERATION OBJECTIVE DESPITE SHARP DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON THE MEANS OF ACHIEVING THAT OBJECTIVE.

2. THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED DO NOT, HOWEVER, FULLY AND ACCURATELY REFLECT THE RANGE OF VIEWS EXPRESSED. TWO DISTURBING THEMES RAN THROUGH MANY STATEMENTS: THE ARGUMENT THAT PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO SUCCESS OF EFFORTS TO CURB "HORIZONTAL" PROLIFERATION WAS FAILURE OF US AND USSR TO HALT NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, AND THE ARGUMENT THAT EFFORTS OF NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS TO RESTRICT SPREAD OF CERTAIN TECHNOLOGIES WERE DESIGNED TO PRESERVE TECHNOLOGICAL MONOPOLY AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE RATHER THAN PREVENT PROLIFERATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, AN ENCOURAGING NUMBER OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES, INCLUDING SEVERAL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, EXPRESSED STRONG SUPPORT FOR TIGHTER SAFEGUARDS AND RESTRICTIONS ON SENSITIVE TECHNOLOGIES. END SUMMARY.

3. ALTHOUGH AT START OF UNGA SESSION WE ANTICIPATED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 06335 01 OF 02 230716Z

DIFFICULTY IN ACHIEVING ADOPTION OF ANY NONPROLIFERATION RESOLUTION WE COULD SUPPORT, UNGA ON DECEMBER 10 AND 21 APPROVED TWO RESOLUTIONS SUPPORTIVE OF NONPROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES WITH AFFIRMATIVE VOTES OF US, USSR, AND MOST OTHER NPT PARTIES. SWEDISH RESOLUTION, ADOPTED BY VOTE OF 116 TO 2 (CHINA, ALBANIA), WITH 19 ABSTENTIONS, MAKES GENERAL APPEAL FOR "INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE EFFORTS" TO PREVENT PROLIFERATION, EMPHASIZING IN THIS CONNECTION RESPONSIBILITY OF TWO MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS TO MAKE DETERMINED EFFORTS TO HALT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. FINNISH RESOLUTION, INTRODUCED AFTER SWEDES AND FINNS FAILED TO AGREE ON COMMON NORDIC TEXT, WAS ADOPTED BY VOTE OF 106 TO 2 (CHINA, ALBANIA), WITH 22 ABSTENTIONS. IT RECOGNIZES RIGHT OF STATES ACCEPTING "EFFECTIVE NONPROLIFERATION RESTRAINTS" TO ENJOY FULLY THE BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND CALLS ON IAEA TO CONSIDER MEANS OF STRENGTHENING ITS SAFEGUARD SYSTEM.

4. GIVEN GENERAL NATURE OF BOTH RESOLUTIONS, IT IS LIKELY THEY WILL HAVE LITTLE PRACTICAL EFFECT ON NONPROLIFERATION EFFORTS IN OTHER FORUMS. ONE OF THE FEW SPECIFIC ELEMENTS IN EITHER RESOLUTION WAS PARA IN FINNISH RES ASKING IAEA TO CONTINUE STUDIES ON MULTINATIONAL FUEL CYCLE CENTERS AND AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME FOR PLUTONIUM STORAGE. HOWEVER, THESE STUDIES WOULD HAVE PROCEEDED EVEN WITHOUT UNGA ENDORSEMENT.

5. THUS, SIGNIFICANCE OF UNGA DEBATE IS NOT THAT RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED WILL PROMOTE ANY NEW, SPECIFIC ACTIONS, BUT THAT POTENTIALLY DAMAGING CONFRONTATION BETWEEN NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES AND NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES WAS AVOIDED. THIS RELATIVELY FAVORABLE OUTCOME CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO SEVERAL FACTORS, SOME FORTUITOUS. SOME DELS THAT MIGHT HAVE PLAYED A MORE ACTIVE AND CRITICAL ROLE WERE LARGELY PREOCCUPIED BY OTHER DISARMAMENT ISSUES (E.G., MEXICO, NIGERIA, AND YUGOSLAVIA). MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 06335 01 OF 02 230716Z

HOWEVER, IN DEL'S VIEW, IS CONTINUING SERIOUS CONCERN OF VAST MAJORITY OF UN MEMBERS OVER DANGER OF FURTHER NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND RECOGNITION THAT NONPROLIFERATION OBJECTIVE DESERVES BROAD SUPPORT DESPITE DIFFERENCES OVER PROPER APPROACH.

6. THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED DO NOT, HOWEVER, FULLY REFLECT DIVERSITY OF VIEWS EXPRESSED DURING DEBATE. ONE THEME STRESSED BY MOST (INCLUDING JAPAN, FRG, NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, ITALY, AND CANADA) WAS THAT SUCCESS OF NONPROLIFERATION EFFORTS DEPENDED SUBSTANTIALLY ON WILLINGNESS OF EXISTING NUCLEAR POWERS, ESPECIALLY US AND USSR, TO MAKE PROGRESS IN LIMITING AND REDUCING THEIR OWN NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES. MANY DELS, HOWEVER, WENT FURTHER TO ASSERT THAT SUPERPOWERS' FAILURE TO TAKE ADEQUATE STEPS TO STOP NUCLEAR ARMS RACE WAS PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO SUCCESSFUL NONPROLIFERATION STRATEGY, AND THAT MEASURES OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, PARTICULARLY A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN, MUST BE GIVEN HIGHEST PRIORITY IN SUCH A STRATEGY. THOSE TAKING THIS POSITION INCLUDED MEXICO, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, YUGOSLAVIA, IRAN, AND EGYPT. MEXICANS AND NIGERIANS CITED ALLEGED FAILURE OF SUPERPOWERS TO MEET NPT ARTICLE VI COMMITMENTS (CONCERNING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT) AS REASON FOR OPPOSING ANY RESOLUTION LANGUAGE URGING WIDEST POSSIBLE ADHERENCE TO NPT.

8. ANOTHER THEME PRESSED FORCEFULLY, THOUGH BY A LIMITED NUMBER OF DELS, WAS OPPOSITION TO RESTRAINTS ON TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY, ESPECIALLY TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. DELS EXPRESSING SUCH OPPOSITION ALL REFERRED DIRECTLY OR OBLIQUELY TO EFFORTS OF LONDON NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS'

GROUP, AND SOME MADE VAGUE REFERENCES TO PRESIDENT FORD'S
OCT. 28 NUCLEAR POLICY STATEMENT.

9. PREDICTABLY, ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, AND INDIA TOOK HIGHLY
CRITICAL POSITIONS. ARGENTINE REP HELD THAT USE OF
"DISCRIMINATORY CRITERIA" TO BENEFIT A MINORITY MEANT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 USUN N 06335 01 OF 02 230716Z

DIVISION OF WORLD INTO THE RESPONSIBLE AND THE IRRESPONSIBLE.
BRAZILIAN REP, WHILE REAFFIRMING SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO
HALT HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS, OPPOSED WHAT HE TERMED EFFORTS TO STOP PROLIFERATION
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. INDIAN
REP SAID CLUB OF NUCLEAR EXPORTERS HAD BEEN FORMED TO
BRING TO HEEL THOSE WHO REFUSE TO FOLLOW DISCRIMINATORY
POLICIES DICTATED BY A FEW AND SANCTIONED BY NONE AND TO
SEEK TO NULLIFY SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE THROUGH
WITHOLDING OF LATEST TECHNOLOGY.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 06335 02 OF 02 230710Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10
ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NASA-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01
OES-06 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 /119 W
----- 102615 /12

R 230419Z DEC 76
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1866
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
USMISSION NATO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 06335 02 OF 02 230710Z

ERDA GERMANTOWN MD 18-19

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 6335

10. SUCH CRITICISM WAS NOT
, HOWEVER, CONFINED TO NPT
HOLDOUTS. ROMANIAN REP SAID MEASURES BY "LIMITED GROUP
OF STATES" TO HINDER PEACEFUL USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY WERE
INCONSISTENT WITH NPT ARTICLE IV AND COULD LEAD STATES
TO RECONSIDER THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD NPT. IRANIAN REP
CALLED TENDENCY OF SUPPLIERS TO IMPOSE "EVER MORE
STRINGENT TERMS" A MOST DISTURBING DEVELOPMENT AND SAID
NPT AND IAEA SHOULD NOT BE USED TO PRESERVE TECHNOLOGICAL
MONOPOLY. YUGOSLAV REP SAID ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE STRICTER
CONTROLS ON NUCLEAR TRANSFERS HAVE "COMPELLED THE
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO ORIENT THEMSELVES, BY RELYING ON
THEIR OWN FORCES, TOWARDS MUTUAL ASSISTANCE", AND HE
RECALLED YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL AT RECENT IAEA GENERAL CONFERENCE
FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF AN "INTERNATIONAL POOL...MERGING
THE FORCES AND RESOURCES OF INTERESTED MEMBERS OF THE
AGENCY IN THE FIELDS OF MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES,
RAW MATERIALS AND KNOW-HOW".

11. BY FAR THE MOST STRIDENT ATTACK CAME FROM NIGERIAN REP
CLARK, WHO ASSERTED THAT SUPPLIERS HAVE ORGANIZED CARTEL
AIMED AT CONTROLLING DESTINY OF OTHER PEOPLES BY
DENYING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ACCESS TO NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY
EXCEPT ON THEIR OWN TERMS. SUPPLIERS, HE SAID, WERE
SEEKING TO AVOID THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE NPT. THEIR ONLY
CONSIDERATION WAS "PROFIT AND MORE PROFIT", AND THEY
BEHAVED AS IF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES NO LONGER COUNT

IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES.

12. SOME OTHER DELS ADDRESSED CRITICISM LESS TO WHAT SUPPLIERS DID THAN TO MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS DONE. DUTCH, AUSTRIAN, AND TURKISH REPS, FOR EXAMPLE, STRESSED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 06335 02 OF 02 230710Z

IMPORTANCE OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN SUPPLIERS AND CONSUMERS. IRELAND, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AND YUGOSLAVIA CALLED FOR GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF IAEA IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESS CONCERNING NUCLEAR TRANSFERS.

13. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING SEVERAL DEVELOPING-COUNTRY RECIPIENTS OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND TECHNOLOGY, SUPPORTED STRONGER SAFEGUARDS AND, IN SOME CASES, SPECIAL RESTRAINTS ON SENSITIVE TECHNOLOGIES SUCH AS REPROCESSING. APPLICATION OF IAEA SAFEGUARDS TO ALL NUCLEAR FACILITIES OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES WAS SUPPORTED BY SOVIET BLOC, UK, CANADA, BELGIUM, SWEDEN, IRELAND, AND AUSTRIA. STRONG CONCERN OVER PROLIFERATION OF NATIONAL REPROCESSING PLANTS WAS EXPRESSED BY PHILIPPINES, SINGAPORE, SOMALIA, AND GABON. SWEDEN, IRELAND, AND AUSTRIA. STRONG CONCERN OVER PROLIFERATION OF NATIONAL REPROCESSING PLANTS WAS EXPRESSED BY PHILIPPINES, SINGAPORE, SOMALIA, AND GABON. SWEDEN, IRELAND, AND SINGAPORE SPECIFICALLY SUPPORTED MORATORIUM ON TRANSFER OF REPROCESSING OR ENRICHMENT FACILITIES, WHILE CANADA, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, AND NEW ZEALAND CALLED FOR RESTRAINTS ON SUCH TECHNOLOGIES.

SCRANTON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, UNGA RESOLUTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976USUNN06335
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760470-1023
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761215/aaaaamsa.tel
Line Count: 312
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 NOV 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 NOV 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <16 AUG 2004 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UNGA DISARMAMENT: ASSESSMENT OF 1976 UNGA DEBATE ON NONPROLIFERATION
TAGS: PARM, PINR, US, XX, UNGA, IAEA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006